

A
DECLARATION
OF THE
PARLAMENT
OF
ENGLAND,

Upon the marching of the ARMIE
INTO
SCOTLAND.



Die Mercurii Junii 26. 1650.

O Rdered by the Parliament, That it bee referred to the Council of
State, to see this Declaration forthwith Printed & Published.
Henrie Scobell Cler. Parl.

LONDON, Printed by *William Du-gard*, by the Appointment
of the Council of STATE, Anno 1650.

NOTATION

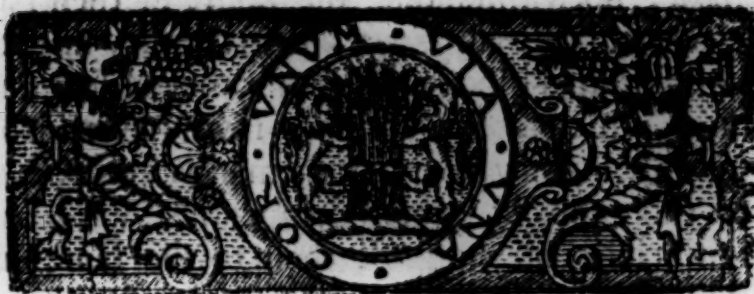
THE

ENGLAND

SCOTLAND



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1714.



A
DECLARATION
OF THE
PARLAMENT
OF
ENGLAND,
Upon the marching of their Armie
into SCOTLAND.



THE *Miseries and Evils*, which are the sad and inevitable consequences of every *War*, are so great, that it ought not to bee undertaken or prosecuted, but upon grounds of *Justice* and *Necessitie*; especially between those with whom no Arguments are wanting for common defence, and where *profession* of the *same Religion* should bee a stronger *bond* of *mutual union*.

This consideration hath long held back the *Parlament* of *England* from making use of *Force*, in reference

to *Scotland*, notwithstanding the *Justice* of their *Caus*, and the *greatness* of their *provocation*, that they might avoid the effusion of blood, and those other Miseries and Calamities, which must in common involve even such of that Nation, who may have kept themselves free from the guilt of those things, which compel this War; And whose principles may dispose them to the same Ends with us, when they shall have discovered their own true Interest.

And in the mean time the *Parlament* hath not been wanting in the Offer of all fair and amicable means for composing the difference and obtaining due satisfaction; nor suffered their just Resentment of the *slight* and *rejection* of those *Offers* to carry them out immediately to the *last Remedy*; but have with much *patience* expected, if the good providence of God should mercifully discover any fit Expedient, whereby they might obtain their just Ends, rather than by *Arms*.

But by all the *Observations* we can make of their *Actions*, and out of their *Declarations*, and by the best *Intelligence* of their present *motions* and *designs*, their total *averseness* to *amitie* and *friendship* with this *Commonwealth* is most apparent; and the same *hostile disposition* continues, notwithstanding the signal hand of God against them upon their late *Invasion*.

Their *Design* is still carried on, and they have not lost their time in *preparations* to execute it, both by their *Treaties* and *Correspondencies* abroad, and by putting all things in a *posture* for it at home.

The PARLAMENT of ENGLAND, upon serious consideration hereof, and of their dutie to his *Commonwealth*, with whose good and safetie they are intrusted, have judged it *just* and *necessary*, that an *Armie* be forth-
with

with sent into Scotland. The *Justice*, *Necessitie*, and *Ends* whereof they declare in the particulars following :

Wherein, not to insist upon manie wrongs and provocations from the *Commissioners* of Scotland, while they were here resident, and while nothing but friendship and unanimtie in the same Cause was pretended by them, their *usurpation* upon *Acts* of the *Legislative power*, their frequent *pretensions* to, and *contestations* about a joynt-interest in som *Acts* of it;

Their *seducing* the people of this *Commonwealth* from their *affection* and dutie to the *Parliament*, and to imbrace and promote the interest of the late King (under *Pretence* of the *Covenant*) laying among the people foundations of concurrence with their future *Invasion*, sufficiently evidenced by the many *Insurrections* breaking forth in *England* in the year 1648, when they invaded this Nation :

Which concurrence of trouble might greatly have endangered the return of *Tyrannie* and *miserie* upon us, had not the *hand of God* mightily manifested it self in the carrying on of that Cause (which hee hath still owned) even with very great disadvantage of Numbers and preparations. Wee shall let these, and divers other particulars pass, and com to that which demonstrate's the *JUSTICE* of this present *Undertaking*; namely, The late *Invasion* of this Nation, *authorized* and *commanded* by the *Parliament* of Scotland.

All of them concurring in *Design* to make a *Prey* to themselves of the *English*, though som difference fell amongst them, who should have the greatest Power of Command, and thereby the greatest opportunitie of advancing the interest of either Partie, under the specious *Pretence* of the *Covenant*.

And therein may bee remembred, *first*, their *taking* of *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, and putting Garrisons into them in the year 1648, contrarie to the large *Treatie* in the year 1640, passed by the *Parlaments* of both *Nations*; by which those *Towns*, or any other *Frontier-Towns* of either *Nation* were not to bee garrison'd, and accordingly were so left by the *English*.

By that *Treatie* also *three months-warning* was to have preceded War; yet this *Invasion* was made by *Autoritie* of the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, while that *Treatie* was in force; and that without any previous *Declaration* of War or hostilitie, as by that *Treatie* ought to have been.

This also at a time, when the *Parlament* of *England* had *Commissioners* at *Edenburgh*, offering to compose all differences between the *Nations* by a *Treatie*, which they refused; And their wicked design carried on, not onely by a conjunction with the late *Kings* professed *partie* under *Langdale*; But they *seduced* from their *dutie*, and *drew* from their *obedience* several *Forces* of their *own Nation*, and som *English*, who were in the pay of the *Parlament* of *England* to com over out of *Ireland*, and treasonably to assist them in this *Invasion*.

When it pleased our good *God* wonderfully to appear for us, in *subduing* and *punishing* our faithless *Invaders*; the *Armie*, by our *Autoritie*, and by *invitation* of the *Committee* of *Estates* of *Scotland* sitting at *Edenburgh* (*S^r Andrew Carr*, and *Major Strahern* beeing sent by them with *Letters* of *Credence*, for that purpose, to the *Head-Quarters* of our *Armie*, then near *Berwick*) did march into *Scotland*; and upon *further invitation* from the *Committee* of *Estates*, by the *Lord Marquess* of *Argile*, *Lord Elco*, and *others*, a great part of our *Armie* did march
close

close to *Edenburgh*, the better to countenance and encourage their Armie, they beeing then in *Treatie* with the *Earl Craford*, *Lindsey*, the *Lord Lanerick*, *S^t George Monroe*, and the rest of their enemies at *Sterling-Bridge*, which having produced the desired effects, and our Armie received with great expressions of contentment and rejoicing for the good success which God had given them;

The enemies in the North parts of *England* not beeing fully subdued, and our Armie readie to return into *England*, upon the further and earnest desire of the Committee of Estates, a considerable part of it was left in *Scotland*, until that Nation was settled in a peaceable condition; and such Forces rais'd for their defence as they thought fit. This beeing don, our Armie returned into *England*, having been Instruments, by the blessing of God, of so much good to that Nation, and settling them in the power which they now enioie, then highly by them acknowledged, owning our Armie for their Preservators, as indeed, under God, they were; and professing their earnest desires and firm resolution to continue a grateful and constant amitie and friendship with *England*.

Yet now (laying aside all consideration of former kindneses, and of their expressions and engagements of Justice, and of *Treaties* (the common bonds of *Humane Societie*) they endeavor to exercise their power for the destruction of those, by whose means they did receive it.

They again insist upon the same pretensions to matters of our Government, and take upon them to determine what is fundamental here; and direct and threaten us, if wee change not what is now established, and form it to their minde, or accommodate it to their interest.

This

This is sufficiently clear'd by the *Protestation* made and sent to us by their Commissioners, Earl of *Lenthian*, S^r *Fo. Chiesley* & M^r *Glendonning*, upon which Wee then gave our sens in a short Declaration, herewith printed : Yet those Commissioners were owned and justified by the Parliament of *Scotland*, and no censure passed on them, though desired by the Parliament of *England*, who sent them with a guard to *Berwick*, to bee delivered to such as the Parliament of *Scotland* should send to receive them.

But, becaus real *injuries*, and great *provocations* may, and ought sometimes to bee *passed over* without War; though the grounds of that War bee *just*, if it bee not also *necessarie*, reasons both of *Prudence* and *Christianitie* requiring and perswading it; The Parliament of *England* doth hereby declare the *NECESSITIE* under which they are concluded to make this *present Expedition*, which they have already *evidenced* to bee *just*.

First, all fair and amicable waies of procuring *Reparation* of those great *Dammages*, which this Nation hath sustein'd by them, and by occasion of their *Invasion*, have been *rejected* and *denied*, and that by the present Parliament of *Scotland*, and power now ruling there; whereby they have *owned* the *wrong*, and *dammage* don to this Nation by that *Invasion*;

Which, upon due consideration will bee found to amount to vast summs, if all should bee put upon their Account, which this *Common-wealth* hath suffered by them, and their influence, both in respect of *Ireland*, the *Revolt* of part of the *Fleet* appointed for that Summer-service, when they invaded, the several *Insurrections* at home, and their *Invasion*.

Their *Design* and *Resolution* again to *invade* Us, will bee
the

the more evident, if Wee remember

First, That upon occasion of demanding onely a Treatie for Satisfaction for their former Invasion, they do, in expresse terms, declare themselves Enemies to the Government of this Common-wealth, and all that adhere thereto, and lay foundations of Sedition, and new Insurrection amongst our selves.

Secondly, In pursuance of these Grounds, they, who cannot claim to themselves the least color of Autoritie or Dominion over us, yet have taken upon them, in Scotland, to proclaim Charles Stewart to bee King of England and Ireland; and in their Treatie since with him have promised him their assistance against this Nation.

Thirdly, before the late Invasion from Scotland, the Parliament of England upon foresight of their disposition to what followed, and seeing their preparation, and the Partie they had seduced in Order thereunto, believing what the event was like to bee, sent thither Commissioners to Treat for preventing the effusion of blood; but the Treatie was refused, and answer'd onely with the immediate March of their Armie into England.

Having therefore again refused the amicable Offer of a Treatie for Peace, wee have reason to expect another Invasion.

Fourthly, They have equally declar'd against Us as Sectaries, as they have against those of Montros his partie; putting us into the same rank with Malignants and Papists; although they cannot but know the Faith which Wee profess, who desire to worship God in the Spirit, rejoycing in Jesus; and have no confidence in the flesh, having our hope of Justification and remission of sins in the blood of Christ, and salvation by the free grace of God; mourning, from our very Souls, that anie turn that grace into wan-

tonness, beeing readie to bear our witness against them, and desirous, that the licentious practices, of those who do so, should bee punished by the Magistrate. Wee cannot but think that an *Interest* of *Dominion* and *Profit*, under a pretence of *Presbyterie* and the *Covenant*, is by these men of more value and esteem then the *Peace* and *Love* of the *Gospel*, to which all that may bee called *Discipline*, or *Government* in the *Church*, is, and ought to bee subordinate; and for which the least violation of the *Love* and *Peace* before-mentioned ought not to bee. Their Design and purpose being thus evident, a *NECESSITIE* is upon Us to use Our best endeavors, with Gods assistance, to prevent them, and not leav them to *Inva*de Us at their *chosen opportunitie*, and our *greatest disadvantage* when they shall have compleated their *Design* with forrein States for their aid; and with their *Faction* and *partie* in this Nation for *Correspondencie* & *concurrence* in their attempts upon Us, & that Wee may not bee at the insupportable *charge* of keeping severall Armies in our own bowels, & *subject* our selvs to the *Contributions*, *plundrings*, and barbarous usage of a *Scottish Armie*, if wee suffer them again to *enter*; or of keeping one *formed Armie* constantly upon the borders, for *preventing* or *resisting* those attempts upon Us, which they are waiting an opportunitie at their best advantage to make.

A *burthen*, from which wee ought to applie our best endeavors to free the people, who have suffered so deeply already by their means; which hath been part of their *Design*, hereby to bring the people to a *discontent* with the *Government* from the Sens of charge (without considering the *Caus* of the continuance thereof) that so they may bee fitted to receiv their impressions, and carie on their *Faction* among us, and keep it readie for them.

them to make use of, when they shall see cause.

And although the *injuries* and *provocations* have been great, and pressing above measure, which have been put upon Us, as is evident by what is before alledged; and that the wrong-doers have left Us no other waies of *Remedie*, or *Vindication*, saving what the *Sword* can produce, which, with the blessing of God, succeeding, might invite returns answerable to their designs and attempts upon Us, if Wee should tread in their steps;

Yet the Lord is our witness, that *Domination*, *Revenge*, or *worldlie Gain* are not the *Motives* of our *Engagement* in this great Undertaking; but our *Ends* therein are, the *Advancement* of Gods *Glorie*, the *furthering* of a just *Freedom*, where God shall minister the opportunitie, the *procuring* of a fit *Satisfaction* for what is past, & the *Settling* of a clear *Securitie* for the time to com, against the like injuries and mischiefs; which as wee hold it most *JUST & NECESSARIE* for us to seek after, for *prevention* of our futher *sufferings* by them, & their further *guilt*; so wee shal much rejoyce if it may be attained without blood: And that thole who *fear God* in both Nations may bee led by these great *shakings*, out of all *carnal confidence* and expectations, to meet together in the *power* of true *Religion* and *Holiness*, to serv and worship God according to his minde revealed in his word; which is our hearts desire to make the *Rule* of our *Waies* and *Actions*.

Henrie Scobell

Cleric. Parliament.

A
DECLARATION
OF THE
Parlament of England,

Concerning
Their late Endeavors in a peaceable
waie, to remove all misunderstandings, and differences
between the Common-Wealth of *England*,
and the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Herewith is Printed the last Paper of the Scotch Commissioners,
with the s^{en}s of the Parlament thereupon.
Also the Letter of the Parlament of *England* to the Parlament of
Scotland, with their Answer thereunto, which is answer'd
by this Declaration.

Die Sabbathi, Julii 14 1649.

This Declaration was read the first and
second time, *And upon the Question passed.*

Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That the
said Declaration bee forthwith Printed and Published.

Ordered, That it bee referred to the Council of State to see
the said Declaration Printed.

Hen. Scobell Cleric. Parliamenti.

LONDON,

Printed for Matthew Simmons dwelling in *Aldersgate-street.*
MDCXLIX.

DECISION
OF THE
Parliament of England

Concerning

That the Bishop of Exeter should be

and the Bishop of Exeter should be

and the Bishop of Exeter should be

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A
DECLARATION
OF THE
PARLAMENT of *ENGLAND*
to remove all misunderstandings between
the Common-Wealth of *England*, and the
Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Die Sabbathi, Julii 14. 1649.



Although the *injuries* don, and *provocations* offered unto this Nation by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as well precedent as subsequent to their last years *Invasion*, have been such, as might in reason have shut the door upon al amicable Offers to have arisen, especially on our part; yet to manifest how unwilling wee were to forget their former *conjunction* with us in the *asserting* and *defending* of *Religion*, and the publick *Liberties* and Rights of both Nations against the Common Enemie, and how readie Wee should still bee in prosecution of the same Cause, to maintein a firm friendship with them, that thereby the enemies of our *Religion* and *Liberties* might bee disappointed of their wicked and dangerous designs long since contrived and to this day dexterously pursued to the utter ruining of both Nations, at lest the well-affected and conscientious partie in both, through the dividing them, and ingaging them in irreconcilable animosities and differences among themselves; Wee were content to propound unto the Parliament of *Scotland*, by a Letter of Ours sent unto them bearing date the 23 of *May* last past (herewith Printed) that *Commissioners* might bee respectively appointed, as well on the behalf of this

this *Common-wealth*, as in behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland* to meet with what convenient speed might bee; at which meeting the particulars of that just *Resentment*, for which Wee demanded *Satisfaction* should bee produced; and if *satisfaction* vvere therein given Wee shall bee further willing to *treat* and *conclude* a firm *league* and *friendship* with them, for the Ends expressed in the said letter, unto which Wee refer our selves.

But unto this fair and friendly overture of ours, no return will serv the Parliament of that Kingdom, but that which laie's an incapacitie upon us of prosecuting our former demands in a waie of *Treatie*, not onely by the aspersion which they cast upon the *Honor* and *Justice* of our late proceedings; but by their publick and professed dis-acknowledgment of the *present Government* of this Nation, *established* by *Parlament*, and their refusing to *Treat* upon any other terms then our return back to *Regal Government*, and a *Hous* of *Lords*; both vvhich Wee have *abolished*, as what was found by experience to bee *useless* and *obstructive* to that *freedom* and *securitie* which the people of *England*, after all these labors and expenses, have merited.

This unequal procedure of theirs, in requital of such amicable addresses to them, Wee could not have expected from that appearance of *Wisdom* and *Pietie*, which the actions of that Nation com. usually cloathed with; nor do wee know well what to impute it to, unless it bee either to som extraordinarie *passion* raised in them from an apprehension, that the *change* of things here will deprive them, for the future, of those *benefits* and *advantages* which they injoyed and promised themselves among us in continuance of Kings over this Nation, which they cannot so suddenly digest; Or whether wee may impute it to a politick *design*, of stirring ill humors, and strengthening the hands of a discontented partie among our selves, whom by no means they will absolv from a conscientious *obligation*, by virtue of the *Covenant*, of adhering to foreigners, against the established *Government* of this Nation; but, rather then fail, do furnish them with the example of their own practice the last year; when as a partie among themselves took arms against the resolutions of their own *Parliament*, to oppose, as they pretended, the unlawful ingagement against *England*. Although the question was not so much, as wee are credibly informed, whether *England* should bee invaded or ingaged against, but what partie among them should have this Trust committed to them.

These, or the like grounds, wee suppose have moved them to that answer, which their last Letter send's us, bearing date the 26 of June, directed to the *Speaker* of the *Hous* of *Commons*, which wee have caused to bee herewith Printed: Wherein they do in the first place tel him, that they neither may acknowledge him *Speaker* of the *Parlament* of *England*, nor the name of *Common-wealth* to this Nation: As if to bee *Speaker* of the *Parlament* of *England*, and for this Nation to dispose it self in the way of a *Common-wealth*, without *King* or *Hous* of *Lords*, did depend upon their allowance or disallowances, and, as if wee alone, of all other Nations, had wanting to us the natural right & inherent power to take up or lay down what *form* of *Government*

ment wee think fit, and judg most conducible to our own preservation, safety, and welfare, without asking or obteining the consent of those that are without us, and forreign to us.

And the reason why they may not acknowledg these titles, is, in regard of the solemn League and Covenant, and Treaties, and the many Declarations of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. An argument, wee confels, which hath been often used and alledged by them, as if of cours it would serv the turn of bringing in their interest upon us, under pretence of Religion, whenas otherwise, in the ballance of sound reason, the little weight of it would appear. But these Pretences have so often been unmasked, and the ungroundedness of such inferences from Covenant and Treaties detested, that it shall suffice us to refer our selvs to what already hath been said by us on this subject long since, in our Declaration of 28. Novem. 1646. and lately in another dated Feb. 17. 1648. both of them transmitted by us to the Parliament of Scotland. In which respect, Wee cannot but wonder how the Covenant, Treaties, and Declarations mentioned should com to bee urged and applied afresh in this Letter, unless they conceiv that the touching upon this string is so plausible to som deluded mindes among us, that there will need no more then a bare affirmation to gain credit thereunto with such persons; for whose sake Wee have thought good to make this further reply:

That it neither can, nor will bee made appear by any thing expressed in the Covenant, Treaties, or Declarations that have passed the Parliament of England, that the Parliament hath excluded or debarred it self from the use and exercise of that Right and Power which is inseparable from it, as the supreme Legislative Autoritie of this Nation, to alter, repeal, make void in whole, or in part any thing whatsoever appertaining to the Government of this Nation, within it self, as they shall judg requisite and necessarie from time to time. And certainly could any such expression have escaped them, that might have been strein'd into any such injurious sens, (which Wee are sure hath not;) yet is it not to bee imagined that any Covenant, Treatie, or Declaration in that behalf, could bee binding in things that a Parliament cannot give avvay from it self; but would be destructive to the verie Ends, for vvvhich Parliaments are. Unto both vvvhich considerations this yet remain's to bee added, that vvvhatever force or vigor might have been dravvn, and urged from the said Covenant, Treaties, and Declarations, to serv for this, or any other use by the Parliament of Scotland, the Invasion vvvhich last year was made by the Parliament of that Kingdom (by Gods blessing so timely and happily defeated) hath cancell'd and made invalid, as to any obligation upon England, untill Wee shall think fit to give nev्व Life and Being to them. Wherein Wee have reason to bee the more carefull and cautious, finding how dangerous constructions and inferences are indeavored to bee put upon them, upon all occasions, thereby to entitle the Kingdom of Scotland to a pretensive Power over the Laws and Liberties of England.

And as to that vvvhich Wee are desired to remember concerning what hath been don by the persons that have present power and Parliamtarie Autoritie

toritie of *Scotland* (vvhhen estated therein through the assistance of Liev. Gen. *Cromwel*, and the Forces under his Command) to the disclaiming those proceedings against *England*, by that unlawfull engagement,

Wee answer, that the remembrance of this doth not at all expiate and satisfie for the actual wrong and violence perpetrated upon this Nation by the Parliament of *Scotland*, who were the *Autors* and *Orderers* of that *Engagement*, and have thereby rendred the Kingdom of *Scotland* responsible not onely for the wrong and injurie don, but to the recompence of those great damages, which *England* hath susteined by the same; which wee were desirous, among other things, to have received satisfaction for, in a way of Treatie, so hastily declined and rejected by the present Parliament of *Scotland*, in their last Letter, as if it were reasonable for the Parliament of that Kingdom to do Wrong, but not reasonable for the Parliament of *England* so much as to demand Satisfaction for that wrong, though in the fairest and most peaceable way. And howv can Wee expect satisfaction to bee given to any other injuries don to this Nation, when they shal by us bee made known to them (as they seem to invite) when as to that which is so manifest and notorious, as the last years *Invasion*, Wee have no other redress afforded but *Recrimination*, which the later part of their letter is fill'd with, and may bee reduced to these two heads.

First, To their adhering unto, and now the second time avowing those scandals and reproaches laid upon the present Government of *England*, in a paper of their Commissioners, dated the 24 of *Febru*. 164⁸, subscribed by the Earl of *Lothian*, Sir *John Chiesly*, and Mr *Glendinning* in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; Upon perusal and consideration whereof, Wee then pass'd our sent in a short Declaration, and have appointed that paper as well as that Declaration to bee herewith Printed. Unto which Wee shall onely add, that, if the Bonds of Religion and Faithfulness to the trust reposed in both Parliaments bee impartially considered, Wee cannot but think that the consideration thereof would have been a far better inducement to the Parliament of *Scotland* to have accepted the Proposals made by us in our last letter, as a means for the two Nations to have grown up into a firm league and amitie, thereby to have secur'd Religion and publick Libertie from the designs of Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant factions, then by this their late carriage towards us, to have put the two Nations at such a distance, and at best, unusefulness of each to other, as serv's onely to do the work of the common Enemy, by weakning us through our own divisions: Wherein Wee are sure, whatever charge they lay upon us, they have not shewn themselves stedfast and true to those grounds which were the Causes not onely of uniting both Nations in the so often-mentioned Covenant and Treaties, made without and against consent of the late King, but also of their ingaging in a War against him for the attainment of those Ends.

And the improvement of this principle in pursuance of our trust, is not therefore to bee complained of, becaus it justifie's our late proceedings, which have out-gon what *Scotland* hath concurr'd in, with us, no more novv then before, when it upheld those joynt resolutions which

which carried out them and us together in a War against the late King and his partie, and in that answer of both Kingdoms; That wee could not give our consent to his Majesties return and exercise of his Regal Office, till hee had first given satisfaction to his Kingdoms for the innocent blood of his good Subjeells that had been spilt in all his dominions, by his Command and Commission, and for the war in Ireland by him fomented and prolonged.

To the Second head of their Recrimination, whetein they tell us, that It is apparent, there hath been of late in England a backsliding and departure from the grounds and principles wherein the two Kingdoms first engaged,

Wee answer, that before so heavie a Charge had been so positively fasten'd on us, it would have been agreeable to reason and justice, that a little pains had been taken in briefly reminding us of those principles from which they accuse us to have departed. For it is not apparent to us, after a verie serious consideration of all that hath been offered from the Parliament of Scotland, that there hath been a Backsliding from those Principles (properly so called) upon which the two Nations first engaged; but on the contrarie, wee doubt not but to make it evident to all, not prejudiced, that wee have been so far from going back, that wee have gon forward in the prosecution of them: and the distance between us and Scotland arise's, not from our backsliding from those principles; but from their standing still, and not pursuing the common End which wee propounded to our selvs, when wee mutually engag'd: which was the Securitie of Religion and the publick Liberties of the Nations above all other things; and all other things, as they are consistent with,, and subservient unto them. And wee know that in all things the End, before other principles, is first intended; which whilst it is adhered unto, a freedom is allowed to make use of all fit and requisite means to attein that End. And therefore the End of all Government beeing the Good of the People, in which good the right Knowledge and Worship of GOD is especially compris'd, the ground of all change must bee, as it hath been with us, in order to those Ends which were the principles that the two Nations did mutually engage upon; and which will certainly rise up in judgment against them, if they bee wilfully declined and departed from by either of them. Wee must bee careful therefore that wee mistake not Principles for superstructures; for the End is the first and perfectest Principle; the Means are but subordinate and subject to change, as oft as they prove uneffectual to the End.

And whereas they esteem a positive Constitution of government to bee a Principle, and the adherence to it to bee of Conscience, although changed by the Supreme Autoritie, upon examination it will bee found that herein they more establish the Interest of the Governors, then the Good of the Governed: and that wherever the People's welfare is preferr'd before the particular Interests of them that govern, it hath not been unusual in those Nations to laie aside precedent forms of government, and introduce others; although they allow not us, upon the same equitable ground, to change from Monarchie into a Common-wealth.

And, becaus the Parliament of Scotland doth propound, that the late proceedings

ings in England, against Covenants and Treaties, may bee disclaimed and disavowed, as the prosecution of the late unlawful engagement against England was by them, and that such as have departed from those Principles, and their former Professions may return unto the same: Wee conceive that this Proposal might have been spared, till either they had convinced us that our proceedings did deserve such disclaiming, or at least till wee had been brought to the same streights with them, when they disavowed to us the last years engagement; which was not don by the visible Autoritie of that Nation, till the Scotch Armie was overthrown in England, and that a considerable force of Ours was, in their Kingdom, in pursuit of that Victorie.

They tell us further, That no Alteration or Revolution of affairs can absolv either Nation from the Covenant and Treaties, &c. Wee cannot admit of this Doctrine, having so fresh in memorie the last years open hostilitie of that Kingdom against England; and being not at all secured (however the contrarie bee as yet profess'd) but that those who are already so easily dispos'd to entertain prejudice, and declare so unjust censures upon our late proceedings, may in short time bee drawn, in their zeal, to uphold Monarchie, and by their own sense of the Covenant, to join avowedly with the common Enemy, The Papists, Prelates and Malignants, whose power and pernicious designs to obviate and oppose, was the chief End of the Covenant and Treaties. And should they happen to fall into such an Alteration and Revolution as this, wee presume that wee shall then stand absolvd in their judgment, as wee now do in our own.

And wee shall wish, that some contrarie necessitie do not encline them to the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant partie, as well as their Necessitie the last year brought them not onely to complie and join, but to bee obliged, for their lives and safeties, to those whom formerly they had declared against, as much as now they do, for a Sectarian Armie.

This Account wee have thought fit to give of our late endeavors, in a peaceable waie, to prevent all misunderstandings and differences between us and Scotland. Out of which course, if wee bee now diverted, wee can truly saie, the fault is not ours: and shal not doubt but that all in this Common-wealth, who desire Protection from it, and wish well to the safetie and good of England, will bee awakened to discern the fallacie and unfoundnes of these allegations against us, and our proceedings; and bee forewarned of having Compliance with designs of whatever color, that tend onely to renew and foment our divisions at home, and to promote foreign advantages, by depriving our selves of the fruit and benefit of all those labors, which wee have undergon these many years with the expence of so much blood and treasure.

The last Paper of the Scotch-Commissioners.



IN the year 1642, and afterwards in the year 1643, when the *Popish, Prelatical and Malignant Partie* did grow prevalent in this Kingdom, the *Honorable Houses of Parliament* did communicate several Declarations, and Papers to the Kingdom of Scotland; thereby to inform their judgements of the state of the differences here: And to gain their assistance, and invire their Forces to com into this Kingdom; In which Declarations and

Declsr. and account to all the world Aug. 1642.

other Papers they affirm and declare,

That the Armie of the Houses of Parliament was raised for maintenance of the true Religion, the Kings Person, Honor and Estate, Privileges of Parliament, Rights and Liberties of Subjects, and for the prevention of the Alteration of Religion. That their *Enemies Design* was, to corrupt and alter Religion, throughout the whole Island; And that they begun with Scotland, knowing well that the same fate attended both Kingdoms. That they have onely inverted the manner of their proceedings, conceiving it an easier way to destroy them, if they may first prevail over the Parliament and Kingdom of England. That whensoever Religion is subverted or changed in one Kingdom, it will be easily accomplished in the other: Religion being the band and foundation of the happiness of both. That what corruptions take root in England, will quickly spread their venom and infection to their neighbor-Church of Scotland.

English Comms. Aug. 1643.

They declare the true state of the Quarrel to bee Religion: In Reformation whereof they are so forward and zealous, as there is nothing expressed in Scotland's former or later Declarations, which they have not seriously endeavored to effect.

They earnestly intreat the general Assemblie to further and expedite the Assistance desired by both Houses from the Kingdom of Scotland upon this ground and motive, That thereby they shall do great service to God, and great honor may redound to themselves in becoming the Instruments of a glorious Reformation, not onely throughout this Island, but from thence possibly to bee spread to other Churches, oppressed under the Antichristian bondage and tyrannie of the Popish and Prelatical faction.

They commend the prudence and faithfulness of the general Assemblie of the Church of Scotland, in propounding those things which may conduce to a more close and firm Union of the two Churches & Nations of England and Scotland, in preserving and maintaining the truth and puritie of the reformed Religion, not onely against Poperie, but all superstitions, Sects, and innovations whatsoever; And declare that the Houses of Parliament have ever

Declsr. Sept. 1642. in answer to the Scots Declaration.

ever made the *Reformation of Church-Government and Discipline* their chiefest aim, though they have been frequently interrupted, and powerfully opposed in the prosecution and accomplishment of it; and however they continue still in their storm and conflict; yet they take the peace, libertie and preservation which God hath afforded *Scotland*, as a pledg of the like mercie intended to them, in his good time; hoping that God will perfect their designs and endeavors of a full Reformation in all things pertaining to Religion; and profess their earnest desires for unitie of Religion, in all substantial parts of Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline, that both Kingdoms might be more strictly united, and enjoie the advantages of his Majesties more easie, safe, and comfortable Government; the People a more free Communion in all holie exercises and duties of Worship, and that there might bee a more constant securitie of Religion, against the bloodie practices of Papists, and deceitful errors of Sectaries. They *Remonstrate*, that it is far from their purpose, or desire, to let loof the golden reins of Discipline, and Government of the Church; to leav private Persons, or particular Congregations to take up what form of Divine Service they pleas; but do hold it requisite that there should bee throughout the whole Realm a Conformitie to that Order which the Laws enjoin, according to the Word of God. They *Protest* in the presence of the All-seeing Deitie, that the services which they have been desirous to perform to their Sovereign Lord and King, and to his Church and State, in providing for the publick peace and prosperitie of his Majestie, and all his Realms, to have been, and still to bee the onely End of all their Counsels and endeavors; wherein they have resolved to continue freed and enlarged from all private aims, personal respects, or passions whatsoever. They oft mention their *Protestation* taken by every Member of both Houses, promising, in the presence of Almighty God, to defend his Majestie, and disclaim the having any purpose to offer the least violence to his person, which hath and ever shall bee dear unto them. They *Declare* that they exspect the help and assistance of *Scotland*, in defens of the Caus; which, if the Popish partie prevail, must needs either involv them in that Alteration of Religion, which will bee made here, or ingage them in a Warr against this Kingdom, to defend their own Religion and Libertie; and they profess, before the everliving God, the safetie of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, in this and all other his Majesties Dominions, to bee the chief end of all their Counsels and Resolutions, without any intention, or desire to hurt or injure his Majestie, either in his Person, or in his just power: That they rest assured, both God and Man will abhor and abominate that monstrous and injurious charge laid upon the Representative bodie of this Kingdom, and designing the ruine, not onely of his Majesties Person, but of Monarchie it self, and appeal to all the World, whether worf words then these can bee given them.

These *Declarations*, and *Solemn Engagements* vvere communicated to the Kingdom of *Scotland* before they did join in the War vvith the Houses of Parliament: And also both Kingdoms entred into a *Solemn League and Covenant*, for Reformation and defens of Religion, for Uniformitie in
one

Remonst.
Decemb.
1641.

May, 1642.

Declaration
Oct. 1642.
In answer to
the King's,
concerning
Keinton-
Battel.
Declar. and
Protest. to
all the
World, 1642

one Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, Directorie for Worship and Catechizing; for extirpation of Poperie, Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Profaneness, and vvhatsoever shall bee found contrarie to sound Doctrine, and the povver of Godliness; for preservation of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject; for the honor and happines of the King and his Posteritie, and the peace and safetie of these Kingdoms.

In the year 1645, after the povver and strength of the Enemie vvas broken, the Houf of Commons did, upon the 17 of *Apri'*, publish a Declaration (vvhich they likewise caused to bee set up and affixed in everie Parish-Church) vvherein they vindicated themselves from several misconstructions, and mis-representations of their proceeding: As that they should have anie intention, or desire, to make use of the great success God had given them, contrarie to their former professions; or to exceed or sever from their first aims and principles, in the undertaking this War; and to recede from the Solemn League and Covenant, and Treaties betwixt the Kingdoms; or to Prolong these uncomfortable troubles, & bleeding distractions in order to alter the fundamental Constitution and frame of this Kingdom; & to leav all Government in the Church loof, and unsettled; and themselves to exercise the same Arbitrarie power over the persons and estates of the Subjects, which the present Parliament had thought fit to abolish, by taking away the Star-Chamber, High-Commission, and other Arbitrarie Courts, and the exorbitant power of the Council-Table. And further they Declare, That their true and real Intentions are, and their endeavors shall bee to settle Religion in the puritie thereof, according to the Covenant. And to maintein the antient, and fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom by King, Lords, and Commons.

In November 1647, when a Petition was presented to the Houf of Commons, styling them the *Supreme Autoritie of the Nation*, together with a Printed Paper annexed, entituled *An Agreement of the People*, for a firm and present peace, upon grounds of common Right (which Agreement, as wee have found, upon perusal of both, is the same for substance with the Agreement lately published) the Houf of Commons did Declare, that the matters contained in these Papers were destructive to the beeing of Parlements, and to the fundamental Government of the Kingdom; and appointed a Letter to bee written to the General, to examine the proceeding of that business in the Armie, and return an account thereof to the Houf: And when another Petition, directed to the *Supreme Autoritie of England*, the Commons in Parliament Assembled, was presented the 23 of the same Moneth, They Voted that Petition, a Seditious and Contemtuos avowing, and prosecution of the former Petition; and Paper annexed, styled, *An Agreement of the People*, formerly adjudged to bee destructive to the Beeing of Parlements, and Fundamental Government of the Kingdom: And another Letter was appointed to bee sent to the General, to take notice of his proceedings, in the execution of a mutinous per-
son

son (who was an abetter of that Agreement) at the Rendezvous near Ware; and to give him thanks for it, and desire him to prosecute the Examination of that business to the bottom, and to bring such guiltie persons, as hee shall think fit, to condign and exemplarie punishment. All which Declarations, Protestations, Oaths, Covenants, and Solemn Engagements notwithstanding, Wee finde to Our great grief, wonder and astonishment, That, contrarie to the Dissent and Protestation of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his *Majestie* is removed out of this life, by a violent death; That Orders are published in Print, entituled, *Acts of Parliament*, prohibiting the Proclaiming of the Prince of *Wales*, King of these Kingdoms. That the Commons, which now sit at *Westminster* (after manie Members of that House have been Imprisoned, Secluded by force, or necessitated to withdraw, because they cannot Act as in a free Parliament) have Voted away the Kingly Office, and the House of Lords, and claim the Autoritie of a Parliament, and under color thereof, the power of repealing all Oaths of Allegiance, or Obedience whatsoever, even without exception of the Solemn League and Covenant; from which the Conscience cannot bee absolved, by all the powers on earth.

Wee see likewise strong Endeavors used, and Resolutions taken to maintein a Licentious Libertie, and ungodly Toleration, in matters of Religion (as appears by a Paper lately published, commonly called, *An Agreement of the People*) against vvhich upon the 26 of *Januarie* last, Wee did present a Testimonie of the Commissioners of the General Assemblies of the Church of *Scotland*, approved of by the Estates of Parliament of that Kingdom.

If the Honorable Houses of the Parliament of *England*, who made the Declarations and Engagements aforesaid, had been permitted to Sit, and Act with freedom, Wee know there would have been no such proceedings, as Wee have already seen, nor cause to fear such dangerous evils, and strange alterations, as are now carried on by Will and Power; Wee may confidently say, they would have been more mindeful of their many Declarations, and the Solemn League and Covenant, and more readie to hearken to the advice of their Brethren of *Scotland*: And however no regard hath been had by those who now Rule, to what Wee have formerly said; (and so wee have small hopes that any great notice shall bee taken of what Wee shall further say:) Yet in pursuance of the Instructions Wee have received from the Parliament of *Scotland*, We hold it our dutie to desire, That there may be no Toleration of Idolatrie, Poperie, Prelacie, Heresie, Schism, or Profaneness; That there bee no change of the Fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom, by King, Lords, and Commons; That there may bee nothing don, which may wrong King *Charles* the Second, in his Succession, as righteous Heir of the Crown of these Kingdoms; but that by the free Councils of both Houses of Parliament, Reformation of, and Uniformitie in Religion, may bee settled according to the Covenant; and particularly, that Presbyterian Government, the Confession of Faith, Directorie for Worship, and Catechism, may bee established; That the just Right

Right and Title of King *Charls* the Second, to the Crown of these Kingdoms, may bee acknowledged, and upon iust satisfaction given to both Kingdoms, hee may bee received and admitted to the exercise of his Government; and if, notwithstanding all our earnest desires and endeavors to the contrarie, the Commons now sitting at *Westminster* shall proceed otherwise, in all, or in anie of the particulars aforesaid, Wee do hereby in the Name of the Parliament and Kingdom of *Scotland*; dissent from the same; and solemnly protest, That they may bee free before God and Man, of the guiltiness, evils, confusions, miseries, and calamities, that may follow thereupon to these distracted Kingdoms.

Feb. 24. 1648.

Lothian.

Jo. Cheisty.

Will. Glendowning.

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THE

THEY do *Declare*, That the said *Paper* doth
 contain much *Scandalous*, and *Reproachfull matter*
 against the just proceedings of this Parliament,
 and an *Assuming* on the behalf of that Kingdom, to
 have *Power* over the *Laws* and *Government* of this Nation,
 to the high dishonor thereof;

And lastly, a *Design* in the Contrivers and Subscribers of it, to *rais Sedition*, and lay the grounds of a new and bloody War in this Land; that, under the specious Pretences in that Paper contained, they may gain advantages to second their late perfidious *Invasion*.

And it is further *Declared*, that all persons whatsoever, residing in *England*, or *Ireland*, or the Dominions thereof, that shall joyn with, or adhere unto, or voluntarily aid, or assist the said Contrivers and Subscribers of anie whosoever, of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in pursuance of the grounds by them laid in the said Paper, for raising Sedition, and a new and bloody War in this Land, are *Rebels* and *Traitors* to the *Common-wealth* of *England*, and shall bee proceeded against, as *Traitors*, and *Rebels*.

Hen. Scobell, Cler. Parliament.

THE

THE
Letter of the PARLAMENT
OF
ENGLAND,
To the PARLAMENT
OF
SCOTLAND.

My Lords, and Gentlemen!

I Am Comanded by the Parliament of *England*, to desire your Lordship, to acquaint the Parliament of *Scotland*, that they have manie things of just Resentment, on the behalf of this Nation and Commonwealth, to make known, and demand *Satisfaction* in, from the Parliament and Kingdom of *Scotland*; the particulars whereof, they think not needful to mention at this time, beeing things so generally known, and fresh in memorie. And beeing desirous in the first place to endeavor for *satisfaction* in a peacable waie; they do therefore propound, That *Commissioners* on the behalf of each Nation (respectively) may bee-appointed to meet in som fitting and convenient place, mutually to bee agreed upon, and with what convenient speed may bee; Unto which meeting, *Commissioners* shall bee sent, fully autorized, from the Parliament of *England*, and on the behalf of this Commonwealth, with instructions to make known the particulars, which they have to complain off; wherein if they shal receiv

satisfaction, the Parliament of *England* are willing, and their Commissioners shall bee further authorized, and instructed, to treat and conclude a firm and strict League of amitie and friendship between the two Nations, by means whereof (if it bee the will of God) these Nations may bee preserved in a lasting peace, and happie enjoiment of Religion in its puritie, together with their civil Liberties, notwithstanding the manie wicked designs that are on foot against them, as well by secret, as professed Enemies of both. This is all I have in charge, save onely to desire that the Parliament of *Scotland's* Answer hereunto may bee returned by this Bearer, who is sent expresse about the same. And so rest's

Westminster the 23^d of
Maie, 1649.

Your humble Servant

Will. Lenthall,

Speaker of the PARLIAMENT
of *England*.

THE



THE
Answer of the PARLAMENT
OF
SCOTLAND.

SIR!

THE Estates of the Parliament of this Kingdom have received a Letter, Dated the 28 of May 1649. signed by you as *Speaker* of the Parliament, and vvritten in the Name of the *Common-wealth* of *England*; which Titles in regard of the Solemn *League* and *Covenant*, and *Treaties* and the many *Declarations* of the Parlements of both Kingdoms, are such as they may not acknowledg.

And for the matter therein contained, Those manie things of just Resentment, wherein *Satisfaction* is demanded from this Kingdom, are onely mentioned in the general, and therefore cannot so vvell receiv a particular Answer; but if by those general expressions, the late *unlawful engagement* against *E. g. and* bee understood, They desire that their *Protestation* against the same in Parliament, and the opposition made thereunto by them after vvards in Arms (vvhich they never laid dovvn until the Garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle* vvere restored to the Kingdom of *England*) may bee remembred, together vvith the Letter of the House of Commons, to the General Assemblie of this Kirk, of the third of *August* 1648. And that Lievtenant General *Cromwel*, autorized from both Houses of Parliament, did upon the fifth of *October* last, represent to the Committee of Estates of this Kingdom of *England* in that Engagement; and thereupon did demand that they vvould give assurance, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, not to admit or suffer anie, vvho have been active in, or consenting to that *Engagement*, to bee imployed in anie publick place, or trust vvhatsoever; vvhich vvvas not onely granted, and confirmed in Parliament, but all Acts for prosecution of that Engagement have been repealed, and all proceedings tending thereunto, publickly disclaimed; And if anie other vvrrongs shall bee made knowvn to us, vvee shall bee readie to return such an answer as may give just satisfaction.

If the *Bonds* of Religion, Loyaltie to the King, and mutual *Amitie* and *Friendship* betvvixt the Kingdoms bee impartially considered, according to the Solemn *League* and *Covenant*, and the Professions and Declarations of both Kingdoms, The *Estates* of Parliament think they have just caus to complain of the late proceedings in *England*, in reference to Religion, the taking

avvay the King's life, and the Change of the Fundamental Government of that Kingdom: Against which this *Kirk and Kingdom*, and their *Commissioners* have protested and given testimonie, vvhareunto they do still adhere, And since it is apparent there hath been of late in *England* a backsliding and departure from the grounds and Principles wherein the two Kingdoms have been engaged; The *Parlament* of this Kingdom doth propound, that the late proceedings there, against Covenant and Treaties, may bee disclaimed and disavovved, as the prosecution of the late unlawfull Engagement against *England* hath been disclaimed and disavovved here: And that such as have departed from these Principles, and their former Professions, may return to the same. upon vvvhich grounds they are content to authorize Commissioners on behalf of this Kingdom, to Treat vvith Commissioners from both Houses of the Parliament of *England* sitting in freedom, concerning all Matters of just complaint, vvvhich either Nation may have against the other; and for redress and reparation thereof, and to do everie thing that may further conduce, for continuing the happie Peace and Union betvvixt the Kingdoms, vvvhich can never bee settled on so sure a foundation as the former Treaties, and the Solemn League and Covenant, from vvvhich, as no *Alteration*, or *Revolution* of affairs can absolv either Kingdom; so vvee trust in God, that no success vvharsoever, vvwhether good or bad, shall bee able to divert us; but as it hath been our care in times past, it shall, vvwith the Lords assistance, still bee our real endeavors for the future, to keep our selvs free of all compliance vvith, or declining to the Popish, Prelatical, or Malignant Partie upon the one hand; or to those that are Enemies to the Fundamental Government, by King and Parliament; and countenance and maintain Errors, Heresie, and Schism, upon the other. I have no other thing in Command from the Parliament of this Kingdom, but to take notice, that there is no answer returned to their Letter of the fifth of *March* last: And so rest's

Your humble Servant

*Loudoun, Cancellarius,
Præses Parliamenti.*

*Edenburgh 26 of
June 1649.*

FINIS.

